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WRIGHT, FRANCES ELIZABETH. Effects of Undergoing Arbitrary Discrimination on Subsequent Attitudes Toward a Minority Group. (1971)

Directed by: Dr. Michael Jay Weiner. Pp. 97.

The present study undertook to explore the hypothesis that having been the object of prejudice and discrimination, a person will be less likely to hold prejudiced beliefs and exhibit discriminatory tendencies toward a minority group.

The setting for the experiment was a rural suburban elementary school. Two third grade classes with 31 children in each class constituted the subjects.

The bulk of the experiment took place on two days. On the first day, after discussing prejudice and discrimination with the class, the teacher of the experimental class told the children that they were going to see what it feels like to be the object of such forces. The children were randomly assigned to be 'Orange' (O) or 'Green' (G) people. The class was told that O children possessed certain superior traits and these children were granted privileges G's were denied. Throughout the day the teacher seized every opportunity to praise O's and criticize G's. On the second day, conditions were reversed and the G children became the superior group.

As a check on the effect of the manipulations, the children were asked to indicate with whom they would like to work at the board; record was kept of whether 'superior' children were predominately chosen. The children were also administered a questionnaire, likewise to determine if 'superior' children would be predominately chosen as answers for such questions as "who I would like to be my best friend".

The children were also given two performance tasks to see if the 'superior' children's performance would excel that of the 'inferior' group. Finally, several children were asked how they had felt about the experience. The second day ended with a discussion relating the children's treatment to discrimination and prejudice.

On the third day, the experimental class and a control class (which had not been through the manipulations of being O and G people) were administered a questionnaire concerning their beliefs about black people to determine if the children in the experimental class would indicate less prejudice as compared with the control class. Two weeks later, the same questionnaire was again administered to both classes to determine if the effect had lasted if indeed there had been an effect.

Although the quantitative measures intended to check the effects of the manipulations did not yield significant results, the occurrences of the days indicate that the manipulations had had a powerful effect on the class. The results from the major dependant measure, the second questionnaire, indicate that the manipulations had had a significant effect on the experimental class as compared with the control class.

The method explored is presented as a potentially very effective method in modifying prejudice and discrimination.

EFFECTS OF UNDERGOING ARBITRARY DISCRIMINATION
ON SUBSEQUENT ATTITUDES TOWARD A
MINORITY GROUP

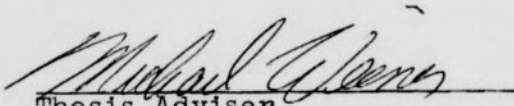
by

Frances E. Wright

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Area of Concern

The problem of inter-group relations is an especially timely one. Perhaps today more than ever before, a tolerance for diversity as well as the capacity for interaction with it, is an imperative. The world has become closer together in terms of transportation, communication, and the capacity for mutual benefit and profit as well as for mutual destruction. Yet increased contact has not been coupled with a corresponding increased coping. From trade to diplomatic relations, national interests and mutual suspicions seem to overrule a broader cooperation and trust.

On a more limited scope, within the United States, which contains various social, religious, racial, and ethnic subcultures, segregation and discrimination exist both blatantly and implicitly, and are often accompanied by friction and violence. The scene is far from peaceful in the land of equal opportunity. An especially troublesome area concerns relations between blacks and whites. Legal measures to promote racial equality have not been marked by a smooth transition towards and acceptance for integration. The 1954 Supreme Court decision which ruled that

state laws requiring or permitting racial segregation in public education are a violation of the U. S. Constitution, and subsequent attempts to enforce national desegregation were met by widespread emotion-laden responses, conflicts between state and national authorities, and eruptions of incidents of violence. The most recent issue of busing has been greeted with similar responses. Along with resistance towards desegregation from many in the white community running counter to legal changes being enacted is a force demanding faster and more dramatic action in behalf of racial equality. There are indications that neither legislative measures for integration nor pressures from civil-rights leaders will cease; but there are also indications that conflict, violence will continue to result from such actions.

At least four reasons present themselves as arguments for the desirability of the breakdown of intolerance, prejudice and discrimination. (1) Assuming the equal worth and dignity of all human life, it becomes inconsistent to suppress particular elements because of the position of less number or power they assume in a society. On a more pragmatic level, suppression hinders societal growth in at least three ways. (2) Conflict resulting from a clash of diverse elements is disruptive, destructive, harmful, expensive. (3) Also, statistics show a disproportionately high rate of crime and delinquency among persons of

oppressed minorities, whether based on racial, economic, or national factors (Clark, 1955). (4) Finally, discrimination hinders full development and use of individual potential; the discriminated individual is not contributing as much as he is capable of to the maximum benefit of society or self.

Society, then, poses a problem. And for suggestions as to possible methods for the modification of prejudice and discrimination, it would appear logical to look to the behavioral sciences.

Definitions and Acquisition of Prejudice

For the sake of clarification, definitions of prejudice and discrimination will be provided. Discrimination is defined as overt behavior which deprives groups of equal access to social facilities such as jobs and accommodations. Prejudice is an attitude or opinion formed before the facts are known or held in disregard of facts which contradict it, involving an adverse judgment of the abilities, personalities, and other characteristics of the members of a group. These distinctions will be maintained throughout the following discussion.

It has been proposed by many that prejudice is 'normally' learned by a child growing up in a culture which holds derogatory attitudes toward certain groups. Negative attitudes as well as 'positive' ones of the culture are

conditioned and the person becomes 'normally' prejudiced against certain groups. If a person has been brought up in a culture which, for example, dislikes and believes certain things about Negroes, he learns the attitudes, opinions, and stereotypes of that culture. Categorical prejudicial responses are reinforced and membership in a category becomes sufficient to evoke the judgment that the stimulus person possesses all the attributes belonging to that category. Prejudiced attitudes are chiefly determined not by contact with the out-group but by contact with the prevalent attitudes towards the out-group (Kutner, 1958).

More specifically, Staats and Staats (1958) have analyzed attitude formation in terms of classical conditioning. In two experiments, attitudes (evaluative meanings) were classically conditioned toward national names and familiar masculine names. Names were presented contiguously with words of either positive or negative evaluative meaning. When Ss were later asked how they felt toward each word, it was found that the evaluative meaning had been conditioned to the names without Ss' awareness.

The authors concluded: "the results of this study have special relevance for an understanding of attitude formation and change by means of verbal communication. . . . The results of the present study . . . substantiate . . . the basic theory that word meaning will indeed condition to contiguously presented verbal stimuli. In the present study,

the meaning component was evaluative, or attitudinal, and the CSs were socially significant verbal stimuli. The results suggest, therefore, that attitude formation or change through communication takes place according to these principles of conditioning. As an example, the sentence, 'Dutch people are honest', would condition the positive attitude elicited by 'honest' to 'Dutch'--and presumably to any person called 'Dutch'. If, in an individual's history, many words eliciting a positive attitude were paired with 'Dutch', then a very positive attitude toward this nationality would arise."

Indeed the thesis that prejudice is determined not by contact with the out-group but by contact with the prevalent attitudes toward the out-group is supported by the wide-spread uniformity of stereotyped beliefs and patterns of discrimination against various groups shown by Americans throughout the United States. Most often, inquiries concerning people's attitudes towards members of certain ethnic or minority groups indicate that most hold a set of stereotyped beliefs yet have had little or no contact with members of such groups. Katz and Braly (1933, 1935), for example, conducted a study with college students who were asked to indicate the traits they considered most characteristic and typical of ten national and ethnic groups and to rank their preference for association with each group. The traits most frequently assigned greatly conformed to the

popular stereotype found in the mass media. Katz and Braly concluded that "the degree of agreement among students in assigning characteristics from a list of 84 adjectives to different races seems too great to be the sole result of the students' contact with members of these races. . . . Individual experience may enter into the students' judgment but it probably does so to confirm the original stereotype which he has learned. He has heard, for example, of Germany's scientific progress and of the devotion to applied science in Germany. Therefore when he meets a German, he will expect the scientific trait to appear, and because human beings from time to time exhibit all kinds of behavior, he can find confirmation of his views. Frequently, people with a prejudice against Jews will meet a flagrant contradiction of their stereotyped picture in a specific Jewish acquaintance. Immediately they observe that this Jew is an exception, he is not like other Jews. . . . By thus omitting cases which contradict the stereotype, the individual becomes convinced from association with a race that its members are just the kind of people he always thought they were. In this manner almost any characteristic can be attached to any race and stick there with scarcely any factual basis." Prejudice is largely a matter of public attitude towards a race name or symbol (Katz & Braly, 1933).

Thus stereotyped beliefs are handed down from parent to child, from generation to generation. The problem is

breaking the cycle, discovering methods for modifying or eliminating faulty thinking and acting on such thinking.

Previous Attempts to Modify Prejudice and Discrimination

There has been relatively little research concerned with modification of prejudice and discrimination. Several studies concerned with the effect of contact with minority group members on prejudice have indicated that contact in itself is often not effective in reducing prejudice (for a review, see Amir, 1969, and Pettigrew, 1969). There have been some instances where contact has been successful in reducing prejudice. Allport (1954), in his intensive review of the contact research, concluded that four characteristics of the contact situation are of utmost importance. Prejudice is lessened when the two groups (a) possess equal status in the situation, (b) seek common goals, (c) are cooperatively dependent upon each other, and (d) interact with the positive support of authorities, laws, or custom. Kenneth Clark (1953), reviewing the same work, came to similar conclusions. However, these are fairly restrictive necessary prerequisites and cannot always be arranged.

Nor have approaches which attempt to reduce prejudice by a strictly informational, intellectual method been very successful in reducing prejudice. Several investigators (Young, 1927; Droba, 1932; Smith, 1939; Greenburg, 1957) have used teaching methods in which students were either exposed to historical background information, scientific

facts as to the falsity of stereotypes, or a record of the contributions of blacks to science, culture, etc. The findings suggest that such methods are not very successful in overcoming prejudice.

Williams (1964) has taken an interesting and somewhat more encouraging approach to racial prejudice. He holds that one of the factors contributing to or reinforcing racial prejudice is the connotation of the 'concept attitudes' of 'black' and 'white'. ('Concept attitudes' are defined as concepts with strong evaluative-meaning components.) In a study with preschool Caucasian children, he found highly significant differences in the connotative meanings of five 'race-related' and five control color names. He found that 'black' had negative associations and 'white' positive. Williams suggested that this learning transfers to Negroes; the black person is seen as 'bad' (Williams, 1964).

Having found that preschool Caucasian children have learned the concept attitude of the color black as negatively evaluated and the color white as positively evaluated and also (Renninger & Williams, 1966) having discovered that children have learned the racial concept attitude of Negro figures as negatively evaluated and Caucasian figures as positively evaluated (the black-white and racial concept attitudes were developing together during the preschool years), Williams (1969) next applied laboratory reinforcement

procedures to weaken the black-white concept attitudes and he found a subsequent slight reduction in the tendency of the children to attribute negative adjectives to pictures of Negroes and positive adjectives to pictures of Caucasians. The findings are consistent with the theory that the color concept attitude acts as one support for the racial concept attitude. Though not a major cause of racial prejudice, the black-white concept attitudes act as a subtle support, a reinforcement for racial prejudice. Along with other means of combating prejudice, this is perhaps one aspect which should be given further attention.

Litcher and Johnson (1969) found that the use of multi-ethnic readers which portray Negroes in a way which is contradictory to prevailing prejudices and stereotypes resulted in marked positive change in the attitudes of white second-grade school children towards Negroes.

Another successful attempt was made by Hayes and Conklin (1953), who attempted to test the effectiveness of various teaching methods for improving inter-group attitudes. The various methods studied included classes (1) studying about contributions of minority group members to science, culture, etc. and information about characteristics and achievements of minority groups, (2) hearing lectures on democratic principles, (3) vicariously experiencing through reading and discussion of short stories and novels, and (4) having direct contacts, i.e., members of majority and

minority groups working and playing together in activities with common purposes and interests. They found that the approach employing vicarious experiences through study of literature was by far the most effective method used in increasing the amount of acceptance of minorities.

Finally, Wieder (1954), comparing two methods of instructions aimed at modifying prejudice in college students, i.e., the traditional lecture-discussion approach and an approach using socio-drama, role-playing, and non-directive discussion sessions, found a significant difference in pre- and post-tests for the group in which role-playing had been employed. The lecture-discussion group did not show a significant difference in pre- and post-tests though there was a slight change in the predicted direction.

It is interesting to speculate as to what these successful attempts in reducing prejudice have in common which distinguishes them from non-successful ones. It would appear that in the successful attempts, the aim has been directed at having the target empathetically identify with the minority group member, i.e., have him see the Negro as an individual. The target individual is called upon to put himself in the situation of the other (i.e., minority) person. The situation is an everyday one; one which is relatively familiar and similar to one in which the target might find himself. By forcing one's attention to a specific example

which is not congruent with an over-generalization or stereotype, the tendency to over-generalize and adhere to stereotyped views is weakened.

A most recent approach to combating prejudice and discrimination was initiated by Mrs. Jane Elliott, a third-grade teacher at Riceville, Iowa, Elementary School. (Mrs. Elliott's study has been televised and is the subject of a film, The Eye of the Storm [1970].)

In her study, on Day I, Mrs. Elliott, after discussing prejudice and discrimination with her class, told the children that they were going to have the opportunity to see what it feels like to be the object of prejudice and discrimination. After being questioned as to some dissimilar characteristic among them which could be used to divide the children into separate groups, the class decided on eye color. Mrs. Elliott then told her class that the blue-eyed children were the better children in the class; they were smarter, they learned faster, they were better-behaved, and cleaner than the brown-eyed children. Throughout the day, she seized every opportunity to praise a blue-eyed child and to criticize a brown-eyed one indicating that their behavior was typical of all members of their group. The brown-eyed children were also denied certain privileges which the blue-eyed ones were granted. Blue-eyed children sat in the front of the class, were allowed to go to lunch five minutes before the brown-eyed ones. They were given

five minutes more recess time, and they were allowed to play on the playground equipment. Brown-eyed children sat in the back of the class, they went to lunch after the blue-eyed children, they had five minutes less recess time, and they were not allowed to use the playground equipment. On the second day, conditions were reversed and the brown-eyed children became the 'superior' group.

Effects of the manipulations began to reveal themselves as the behavior of both 'superior' and 'inferior' children started to change. Several of the 'superior' children came to act in an aggressive, superior, vicious, discriminating manner; the 'inferior' children generally appeared quite unhappy and withdrawn. An incident of name-calling provoked a fist-fight between a blue-eyed boy and a brown-eyed one on the playground. Ability to perform in the classroom altered considerably. On the first day, a group of 'inferior' brown-eyed children were able to read phonic material from a card pack in 5 1/2 minutes; the next day, when they were 'superior', they read the material in almost half the time. Similar results were obtained with blue-eyed children.

At the end of the second day, the class discussed how it feels to be suppressed, how the color of one's eyes or skin does not make one good or bad, etc. The stated purpose of the experiment was to show the children how it feels "to be stepped on", discriminated against, the implicit assumption

being that an individual who has been through the experience of being the object of discrimination and prejudice will be less likely to hold prejudiced beliefs and to engage in discriminatory behavior against another group because he "knows what it feels like"; he knows the falsity and cruelty of such beliefs and actions. However, the teacher in this study used no measures to check the effect of the two days' experience. Her hypothesis was left to speculation.

It might be noted that in this study (as in the other attempts which proved successful in combating prejudice) the children became involved in a situation in which a minority person might find himself. It was made personal, relevant, immediate and everyday to the children. The experiment involved calling attention to specific contradictory examples of overgeneralization in an attempt to weaken the tendency to overgeneralize.

Purpose of the Present Work

The purpose of the present study was to examine some aspects of prejudice and discrimination, further exploring the implicit assumption of the film, The Eye of the Storm, i.e., that having undergone the experience of being the object of prejudice and discrimination, a person will be less likely to hold stereotyped prejudices and discriminate against a minority group. The present work attempted both to replicate and extend the experiment portrayed in the film.

The author was interested in determining if results similar to those shown in the film would be obtained and in providing a detailed account of the occurrences of the two days of manipulations in which children were arbitrarily discriminated against.

The experiment was an extension of the experiment as performed by Mrs. Elliott in that a follow-up was carried out to determine if the children who had been through the experience as compared with a control group of children who had not been through the experience were less likely to hold prejudiced attitudes and be inclined towards discriminatory behaviors towards a minority group. An attempt was made to obtain objective measures of prejudice and discriminatory tendencies which were treated anecdotally and non-rigorously in the film.

Also, although all studies have not found it to be the case, several previous experiments have indicated that stress (Lazarus, Deese, & Osler, 1952; Katz & Greenbaum, 1963; Kennedy & Willicutt, 1965; Glass, Singer, & Friedman, 1969), previous failure (Ford, 1963; Feather, 1966; Feather & Saville, 1967), and low performance expectancy (Tyler, 1958; Aronson & Carlsmith, 1962; Feather, 1963; Battle, 1965; Brock, Edelman, Edwards, & Schuck, 1965; Crandall & McGhee, 1968; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Brophy & Good, 1970) have a detrimental effect on performance. In her experiment, Mrs. Elliott found a decrease in the children's

efficiency in reading phonic material when placed in a situation of stress, previous failure, and low performance expectancy. Therefore, the present experiment incorporated two performance tasks (a digit-span and digit-symbol coding task) to see if the manipulations would similarly effect a decrement in performance.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects and Setting

The experiment took place in an elementary school in a rural-suburban area of North Carolina, twelve miles west of Winston-Salem, an industrial city of 133,820 population. The population of the community is approximately 2,000 and consists of predominately upper-middle-class commuters (doctors, lawyers, businessmen, engineers and other industrial workers) working in Winston-Salem. There is no large-scale commercial farming in the area and there are very few blacks.

The school contains seven first grades, six second grades, six third grades, six fourth grades, six fifth grades, and five sixth grades. There are ten black teachers in the school, two of whom have been there five years, the others two years. There are about fifteen black children who have been in the school about three years.

The subjects in the experimental class were 31 white third graders, 15 boys and 16 girls. The teacher was also white and in her late 20's. The control class consisted of 31 third grade children, 16 white girls, 14 white boys, and one black boy. Their teacher was also white and in her 30's.

Almost all of the children in each class had had a black teacher as a first or second grade teacher, and almost all of the children had had a black classmate in first or second grade. Most of the children in each class had been in the same first and second grades together.

Neither teacher had discussed prejudice and discrimination with their classes by referring specifically to blacks and whites; rather, their approach was a 'let's be fair to everyone' type of thing.

The bulk of the experiment took place on two days. On both days it rained, so the children could not go out to recess. Though this might have prohibited some interactions which might have occurred away from the watchful gaze of the teacher, the rain kept the children apart from those in other classes, and contributed to keeping the action and feelings intense, there being no break from the manipulations during an unstructured time period.

The classroom was in a basement with a small room to the right where a reading teacher taught small groups of children at various times during the day, and a classroom to the left (the room of the control class).

Procedure

Prior to the days on which the experiment was to take place, the teacher of the experimental class was thoroughly familiarized with the purpose and rationale of the

experiment, and with procedures concerning how class was to be conducted. (She was given a summary of the intended research and an article on Mrs. Elliott's study (Peters, 1971), and had heard a tape of the sound track of The Eye of the Storm. Also, there was another teacher in the school who had previously conducted her class in a manner similar to that of the intended research. Along with E, the teacher of the experimental class discussed with this teacher the procedures she had used and some of the reactions of her class.)

The experimental class was divided into two groups-- 'Orange people' (O) and 'Green people' (G). The children were randomly assigned to groups and each child wore a colored armband to designate to which group he belonged. At the beginning of day one, after the children had said the Pledge of Allegiance, the teacher discussed freedom and justice, discrimination and prejudice with the class; she proceeded to tell the children that they were going to 'see what it feels like' to be the object of discrimination, segregation, and prejudice. After armbands were distributed, the Orange children were told that they were the better children in the class--they were smarter, cleaner, better-behaved than the Green children. They were also granted certain privileges the Green children were denied. (O's always went first in line; G's went last. O's were allowed to get dessert; G's were not. O's were chosen as

line-leaders, door-holders, book-distributors; G's were not. O's were called on to answer questions and to read; G's were not. Throughout the morning, the teacher seized every opportunity to praise Orange children and criticize Green ones. (For a detailed account of the proceedings of day one and two, see appendix.)

As a check on the effect of the manipulations of the morning, the children were instructed to indicate with whom they would prefer to work, and record was kept of whether O's chose O's, G's, G's. (The children were told, just prior to lunchtime, that in the afternoon they would be working in pairs at the blackboard and that after lunch, each child was to indicate with whom he wanted to work.)

As a further check on the effect of the manipulations, after lunch, the children were administered Questionnaire A.

To determine if the manipulations had had a detrimental effect on the inferior children's performance, a digit-symbol coding task was then given. Finally, the teacher administered a digit-span task individually to each child while E asked several children how they had felt that day. At the end of the day, the children were told that the next day, G's would be the superior group.

On the second day, conditions were reversed and the O's became the inferior group, the G's the superior. Conduction of class was similar to that of day one. The

second day ended with a discussion of why the children had been treated as they had, and how their treatment was related to racial prejudice and discrimination.

The children in the experimental class had not been forewarned as to what would take place; they were told that someone (E) would be sitting in on their class observing. The control class had just previously had a young student teacher sit in on their class, and so the children were familiar with the idea of having someone sit in. On the morning of the first day of manipulations, E was introduced to the class; the children were told that she was interested in finding out about third grade children because she might want to teach them someday. At no time during the two days while E sat in on class was it disclosed to the children that she had anything to do with the manipulations. E sat in the back of class as unobtrusively as possible, observing and taking notes. A tape recorder was in operation during the teacher's remarks at the beginning of each day, at the end of day two, and during the questioning of the children at the end of class each day.

On the third day, the experimental class and a control class (one which had not been through the manipulations of being O and G people) were administered Questionnaire B to determine if the children in the experimental class would indicate less racial prejudice as compared with the control

class. (The teacher of the control class was not told her class was to be involved in the experiment until the third day.)

Two weeks later, Questionnaire B was again administered to both classes to see if the effect had lasted if indeed there had been an effect. (Neither teacher knew Questionnaire B was to be administered until that morning; they had been led to believe the experiment had been completed.)

Quantitative Measures and Data Analysis

Choice of board partner. A X^2 was performed to assess the effects of the manipulations on Ss' board partner choice. Considering what the children had been told and the treatment they had undergone, if the effect of the manipulations had been powerful enough, one would expect the children's choice of a board partner to reflect such.

The children were led to believe that shortly they would be engaging in an activity working in pairs, and had had time to consider their choice. If the manipulations had had an effect, one would expect O's to prefer 'superior' O partners, shying away from 'inferior' G's, and expect G's to prefer O's (though conceivably they would want to work with 'their own kind' and choose G's). On the other hand, since Ss were randomly assigned to O or G groups, if the manipulations had had no effect, one would expect comparable frequencies in each cell (a non-significant X^2).

From The Eye of the Storm, there was reason to believe the manipulations would have an effect on the choices Ss made.

Questionnaire A. Questionnaire A was also designed as a check on the effect of the manipulations, and X^2 's were performed for each question. The questions were designed to reflect: affiliation desires (Q.'s 1, 3, 6, 10), desire or willingness to have a minority person in a position of power or prestige (Q. 7), discriminatory desires (i.e., who should 'get the dirty deal' or 'do the dirty work') (Q.'s 2, 4, 11), stereotyped beliefs involving negative or inferior traits (Q.'s 5, 6, 9), and beliefs about what significant others feel about 'inferior' individuals (Q. 8).

As with board partner choice, since Ss were randomly assigned to O or G groups, if the manipulations had had no effect, one would expect comparable frequencies in each cell (a non-significant X^2).

If, on the other hand, the manipulations had had an effect on the children, one would expect a higher frequency of O's choosing O's for favorable Q.'s (1a, 2b, 3a, 4b, 5b, 6a, 7a, 8a, 9a, 10a, 11a) and a higher frequency of O's choosing G's for unfavorable ones (1b, 2a, 3b, 4a, 5a, 6b, 7b, 8b, 9b, 10b, 11b). Similar frequency distributions might be expected from G choosers (choosing O's as favorable

choices, G's as unfavorable) though there might be some uncertainty as to the predicted G's choices.

Again, there was reason to believe that Ss' choices would be affected by the manipulations.

Coding task and digit-span. It was predicted that the 'superior' children's performance would excel that of the 'inferior' children on each day on both the coding task and digit-span. In dealing with these data, a Lindquist type II mixed factorial (or Latin Square) analysis was performed on the scores for each task.

Each group (Gp) received both treatments (A) but in different order (B).

This analysis allows for a check not only on the effects of the treatment, but also on the effects of order upon treatment effects, and on the interaction of order and treatments.

(If the order in which treatment is administered has any effect on the criterion measure, this effect is rendered the same for all treatments with the type II analysis.)

Questionnaire B. To determine if there was a difference in the responses of the experimental and control

Questionnaire A

- 1) Who would you like to be your best friend?
Who would you least like to be your best friend?
- 2) If one person had to go around the classroom and pick up all the scraps of paper on the floor, who would you want to have to do that?
Who would you not want to have to do that?
- 3) Who would you most like to eat lunch with?
Who would you least like to eat lunch with?
- 4) Who would you most like to see stay in at recess if one person in the class had to be punished for the class misbehaving?
Who would you least like to see stay in?
- 5) If you found out that something had been broken, who in the class would you think probably did it?
Who would be least likely to have broken something?
- 6) If you could work in pairs on an arithmetic problem, who would you most like to work with?
Who would you least like to work with?
- 7) If someone could be president of your class, who would you most like it to be?
Who would you least want it to be?
- 8) Who would your parents probably most like you to play with?
Who would they least like you to play with?
- 9) If your class took a test, who would probably get the highest grade?
Who would probably get the lowest grade?
- 10) Who would you most like to play with on the playground?
Who would you least like to play with on the playground?
- 11) If only some people in the class could get a new toy, who would you want to be sure to get one?
Who would you least want to get one?

classes to Questionnaire B, the major dependant variable, χ^2 's were performed for each question. (If the manipulations had had no effect on the experimental class, one would expect a comparable frequency of yes-no, etc. responses from each class, i.e., a non-significant χ^2 .)

Also, questions 3-9 were weighted with 'don't believe a lot' given a value of 1, and 'believe a lot', a value of 5, and a t-test was performed between the means of each class.

An additional question was added to Questionnaire B for the second week's administration: "About how many black people have you come in contact with (that is, seen in person)? (for example, the mailman, a maid, black children, teachers, people in parks, working in stores, etc.)" The mean and standard deviation for each class was determined.

Questionnaire B

- 1) Next Saturday there will be a picnic near school with some third grade black children from another school. Would you please say if you would like to go with them.

Yes _____ No _____

- 2) Next year there will be two new teachers--a black teacher and a white teacher--teaching at _____ Elementary School. Would you please say which one you would like for a teacher.

Black _____ White _____ Don't care _____

Would you please say if you believe the following things about black people:

- 3) Most black people can't learn as fast as most white people.

<u>believe</u>	<u>believe</u>	<u>don't know</u>	<u>don't believe</u>	<u>don't believe</u>
a lot	a little		a little	a lot

- 4) Black people shouldn't be allowed to live next door to (in the same neighborhood as) white people.

<u>believe</u>	<u>believe</u>	<u>don't know</u>	<u>don't believe</u>	<u>don't believe</u>
a lot	a little		a little	a lot

- 5) Most black people aren't as clean as most white people.

<u>believe</u>	<u>believe</u>	<u>don't know</u>	<u>don't believe</u>	<u>don't believe</u>
a lot	a little		a little	a lot

- 6) Black children should go to separate schools from white children.

<u>believe</u>	<u>believe</u>	<u>don't know</u>	<u>don't believe</u>	<u>don't believe</u>
a lot	a little		a little	a lot

- 7) Black people shouldn't be allowed to eat in the same restaurants that white people eat in.

<u>believe</u>	<u>believe</u>	<u>don't know</u>	<u>don't believe</u>	<u>don't believe</u>
a lot	a little		a little	a lot

- 8) Most black children don't behave as well as most white children.

<u>believe</u>	<u>believe</u>	<u>don't know</u>	<u>don't believe</u>	<u>don't believe</u>
a lot	a little		a little	a lot

- 9) White people shouldn't be janitors and maids but it's all right if black people are janitors and maids.

<u>believe</u>	<u>believe</u>	<u>don't know</u>	<u>don't believe</u>	<u>don't believe</u>
a lot	a little		a little	a lot

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Qualitative Results

Many interesting results occurred as a consequence of the treatment. (For a detailed account of the occurrences of the days, see appendix.) Initially, when the teacher told the children that they were to be 'orange' and 'green' people, they were happy and excited at the prospects of playing such a game. After the armbands had been distributed and the teacher started making derogatory comments about G's, G's seemed uneasy and unhappy; some started dissenting. When the teacher began indicating the privileges which would be denied the G's, they became even less happy. One child's remark, "Are you really serious?" perhaps summarized the general feeling of the G children; they began to see that the 'game' was more than they had bargained for. Within fifteen minutes a G girl was crying.

The O's, still pleased with the new situation, fully catching on to the idea and joining in on the spirit of the experiment, began to make derogatory statements about G's. As the morning progressed, a polarization began in the class; strained relations and tension between groups developed.

The teacher, continuing to treat the G's badly, called on only O's to read and answer questions, praising them highly on how well they read, how smart they were. When the G's' dissension got them nowhere, they stopped raising their hands to be called on.

Within an hour after class had started, several children, both O and G, were beginning to say that the teacher's treatment was not fair. Some O's, sympathizing with G's, said that they intended to 'slip them dessert' at lunch. But still, O's continued to direct derogatory comments towards G's and write notes about them. At one point, some O's slipped and called G's blacks.

As the day proceeded, several G children tried to take off their armbands or hide them under their sleeves. When the teacher left the children to speak with the principal, some G's indicated that they thought she had gone to tell him that G's were not doing good work. When a G child asked if they (G's) would be G the next day, and the teacher said that they would, he and a couple of other children said that they were not coming to school the next day. Another child stated that he had lost a lot of friends as a result of the manipulations; another, that he did not feel like eating lunch. Several G's said that the O's did not know what the treatment felt like and that they hoped O's found out. Before the day was over, several G children were crying.

By the end of lunch period, pro-Green sentiment was high, however, and O's as well as G's were protesting to the teacher that the treatment was not fair. After lunch, a delegation of four O and one G boys presented themselves to the teacher to protest.

At recess, when O's were told they could play separately from the G's, they indicated that they wanted to play with G's. When told they could choose what game to play, they said they wanted the G's to decide.

Upon questioning the children at the end of the day as to how they had felt that day, almost all of the children (both O's and G's) indicated that they had not liked that day: they felt badly about what had gone on. Several O children said that they liked it at first, and had thought it would be fun, but did not like it later; they did not think it was fair. One G child, who had hidden her armband when out to another class for math, said that she had felt that people hated her that day.

The social pressure created by the manipulations against affiliation with 'inferior' group members became evident in several occurrences during the two days. On the first day, a child who sat in on only part of class was told he could sit either with O's or G's. Though he indicated he was "on the G's side", he sat with the O's even when the inconsistency of his actions was pointed out by several O's. Also on day one, the teacher told O's that if they had

much to do with G's they risked being called "green-lovers". An O child, attempting to defend G's, seemed to be powerfully affected when several other O's called him a "green-lover". On day two, a G's being called an "orange-lover" led him to stop playing with his O friend.

On the second day three children were absent from class, one definitely as a result of the manipulations, another, probably as a result of the manipulations. Several children said that they had not wanted to come to school that day. The children strongly objected to having class conducted again as it had been the day before. Some children indicated that they were going to the principal to tell him of the way the teacher had been treating them.

On the second day, when G's were to be the superior group, several wanted to wear orange armbands. It apparently did not seem sufficient, at first, to be told that 'green is beautiful', that G's were to be on top. "Green" seemed to have acquired powerful negative connotations.

After derogatory comments were directed toward O's and privileges denied them, several G's reminded O's, "I told you it wasn't funny." During the day, some derogatory comments and hostile gestures were directed toward O's by G's. However, during reading when O's were not called upon, G's said to give them a chance. At recess G's indicated that they wanted to play with O's and to let them decide what game to play. As on the day before, hostile comments

and actions were interspersed with protestations that the treatment was not fair. (It is interesting to note that even though the 'superior' children objected to the teacher's ill-treatment of the 'inferior' children, it seems they could not resist the temptation to themselves occasionally treat the out-group badly.)

Upon questioning the children toward the end of the day, it was again found that most of the children did not like the treatment, did not think it was fair. At the end of class when the teacher asked the children if the color of one's armband--or skin--made any difference in the kind of people they are, or if it should influence the way one is treated, the children said no. They indicated that they had learned the lesson the treatment was intended to convey.

Quantitative Results

Choice of board partner. χ^2 s on choice of board partner were not significant at the .05 level for day one or day two.

TABLE 1

Chi Square Analyses of Choice of Board Partner

Cell Frequency Distribution					χ^2	
		Day I	Day II		Day I	Day II
		O	G	O	G	
		(Choices)				
(Choosers)	O	7	7	4	10	.39 .31
	G	9	4	6	7	

Questionnaire A. Nor were X^2 's for any question on Questionnaire A significant at the .05 level.

Coding task and digit-span. Except for the F-test for order (B) effects on coding task scores, no results from the two performance tasks were significant.

Questionnaire B. X^2 for Question 1 was significant at the .01 level for both administrations of Questionnaire B. On the second week's administration, X^2 on Q. 6 was significant at the .01 level. No other X^2 's were significant at the .05 level.

T-tests (two-tailed) for Q.'s 3-9 for both administrations were significant at the .001 level.

TABLE 2

Chi Square Analyses for Questionnaire A

Questionnaire A		Cell Frequency Distribution				χ^2	
		Day I Choices		Day II		Day I	Day II
		O	G				
1)	Who would you like to be your best friend?	Choosers	O	6	8	8	6
			G	8	5	6	7
						.41	.04
	Who would you least like to be your best friend?			5	9	5	9
				8	5	8	5
						1.02	.85
2)	If one person had to go around the classroom and pick up all the scraps of paper on the floor, who would you want to have to do that?			9	5	9	5
				8	5	5	8
						.06	.85
	Who would you not want to have to do that?			8	6	8	6
				5	8	7	6
						.39	.05
3)	Who would you most like to eat lunch with			7	7	7	7
				7	6	9	4
						.04	.39
	Who would you least like to eat lunch with?			5	9	6	8
				9	4	7	3
						1.91	.04

TABLE 2 (continued)

Questionnaire A		Cell Frequency Distribution				χ^2	
		Day I		Day II		Day I	Day II
		Choices					
		O	G				
4)	Who would you most like to see stay in at recess if one person in the class had to be punished for the class misbehaving?	Choosers	O	4	9	7	6
			G	6	6	4	9
						.32	.62
	Who would you least like to see stay in?			9	4	6	8
				7	6	6	7
						.16	.05
5)	If you found out that something had been broken, who in the class would you think probably did it?			6	7	8	6
				5	7	5	7
						.04	.16
	Who would be least likely to have broken something?			8	5	4	10
				6	6	5	8
						.04	.03
6)	If you could work in pairs on an arithmetic problem, who would you most like to work with?			7	7	8	6
				10	3	8	5
						1.08	.03
	Who would you least like to work with?			6	8	7	7
				10	3	6	7
						1.99	.04

TABLE 2 (continued)

Questionnaire A		Cell Frequency Distribution				χ^2	
		Day I		Day II		Day I	Day II
		Choices					
		O	G				
7)	If someone could be president of your class, who would you most like it to be?	Choosers	O	11	3	6	8
			G	9	4	5	8
						.007	.03
	Who would you least want it to be			7	6	5	9
				3	10	9	4
						1.46	1.91
8)	Who would your parents probably most like you to play with?			4	10	6	8
				7	6	4	9
						.88	.06
	Who would they least like you to play with?			6	8	7	7
				7	6	6	6
						.04	.16
9)	If your class took a test, who would probably get the highest grade?			9	5	6	6
				9	4	12	1
						.03	3.51
	Who would probably get the lowest grade?			5	9	8	5
				7	6	8	5
						.29	.16

TABLE 2 (continued)

Questionnaire A		Cell Frequency Distribution				x ²	
		Day I		Day II		Day I	Day II
		Choices					
		O	G				
10)	Who would you most like to play with on the playground?	Choosers	O	8	6	7	7
			G	6	7	8	5
	Who would you least like to play with on the playground?			8	6	9	5
				11	2	10	3
11)	If only some people in the class could get a new toy, who would you want to be sure to get one?			7	7	7	6
				9	4	7	6
	Who would you least want to get one?			8	5	8	6
				5	8	6	7
						.60	.04

TABLE 3
Analysis of Variance for Coding Task

SV	SS	df	MS	F	p
Betw Ss	6167.8	25			
Gps.(AB _b)	40.7	1	40.7	.16	ns
Error _b	6127.1	24	255.3		
Within Ss	5954.	26			
A (treatment)	69.2	1	69.2	1.97	ns
B (order)	5041.2	1	5041.2	143.62	.01
AB _w	.10	0	-	-	
Error _w	843.5	24	35.1		
Total	12121.8	51			

TABLE 4
Means and Standard Deviations for Coding Task

	\bar{X}		sd	
	Day I	Day II	Day I	Day II
O	39.07	56.57	5.98	8.52
G	38.23	60.23	11.71	18.18

Note: Though the means are close, there is a larger variance among the G's.

TABLE 5
Analysis of Variance for Digit-Span

SV	SS	df	MS	F	p
Betw Ss	21.9	25			
Gps. (AB _b)	.4	1	.4	.45	ns
Error _b	21.5	24	.89		
Within Ss	5.5	26			
A (treatment)	.1	1	.1	.45	ns
B (order)	.1	1	.1	.45	ns
AB _w	0	0	-	-	
Error _w	5.3	24	.22		
Total	27.4	51			

TABLE 6
Means and Standard Deviations for Digit-Span

	\bar{X}		sd	
	Day I	Day II	Day I	Day II
0	5.71	5.71	.73	.73
G	5.92	5.92	.86	.76

TABLE 7

Chi Square Analyses for Questionnaire B

Questionnaire B	Cell Frequency Distribution				χ^2	
		Day III		Two Weeks Later		
		<u>Y</u>	<u>N</u>			
1) Next Saturday there will be a picnic near school with some third grade black children from another school. Would you please say if you would like to go with them.	Exp	26	1	26	1	
	Contr	17	10	16	11	7.30** 8.68**
2) Next year there will be two new teachers--a black teacher and a white teacher--teaching at Elementary School. Would you please say which one you would like for a teacher		<u>B</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>De</u>		
		1	6	20	1 3 23	
		3	5	19	4 5 18	.26 1.32

TABLE 7 (continued)

Would you please say if you believe the following things about black people:

Questionnaire B	Cell Frequency Distribution										χ^2	
	Day III					Two Weeks Later						
	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1		
3) Most black people can't learn as fast as most white people.	Exp 1	2	18	1	5	1	2	10	2	12		
	Contr 3	7	14	0	3	4	4	10	2	7	2.44	2.12
4) Black people shouldn't be allowed to live next door to (in the same neighborhood as) white people.	0	2	8	2	15	2	1	4	6	14		
	4	2	8	4	9	4	5	9	2	7	3.78	5.74
5) Most black people aren't as clean as most white people.	1	3	12	2	9	1	3	9	2	12		
	3	5	12	4	3	5	5	7	4	6	2.66	3.22
6) Black children should go to separate schools from white children.	2	2	7	3	13	0	1	5	3	18		
	7	3	6	2	9	7	7	4	3	6	2.18	13.46**

TABLE 7 (continued)

Questionnaire B	Cell Frequency Distribution										χ^2	
		Day III					Two Weeks Later					
		5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	
7) Black people shouldn't be allowed to eat in the same restaurants that white people eat in.	Exp	1	4	3	3	16	0	1	7	4	15	
	Contr	3	3	7	3	11	2	5	8	3	9	1.92 3.04
8) Most black children don't behave as well as most white children.		1	5	11	2	8	1	4	9	4	9	
		5	6	12	3	1	6	8	8	1	4	5.50 5.08
9) White people shouldn't be janitors and maids but it's all right if black people are janitors and maids.		2	1	7	2	15	1	1	7	5	13	
		2	6	8	6	5	6	4	9	3	5	7.72 5.98

* 'believe a lot' = 5; 'don't believe a lot' = 1.

** $p = .01$.

TABLE 8
T-tests on Questionnaire B
(Questions 3-9)

	\bar{X}		sd		t		ω^2	
	Day III	Two Weeks Later	Day III	Two Weeks Later	Day III	Two Weeks Later	Day III	Two Weeks Later
Exp	15.74	14.07	6.09	5.26				
Contr	20.33	20.93	6.22	7.78	16.39*	23.10*	.83	.91

* .001

TABLE 9
Means and Standard Deviations for Contact with Blacks

	\bar{X}	sd
Exp	10.72	12.56
Contr	15.77	19.44

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Comments on Results.

Although the measures intended to check the effect of the manipulations (choice of board partner and Questionnaire A) did not yield significant results, the occurrences of the day, especially the comments of the children, indicate that the manipulations were having a powerful effect on the class. It should be noted that the present investigator went into the experiment blind, as it were, not knowing what kinds of results to expect. It would no doubt be possible to devise better measures to check the effect of the manipulations. The comments and actions of the children turned out to be most interesting and most significant in indicating the effect the treatment was having.

Questionnaire A. There could be several reasons why Questionnaire A did not reflect the effect of the manipulations. First, the children took the questionnaire very seriously. Generally, they did not want to make the choices necessary for answering the questions. During the administration of the questionnaire, the teacher read each question aloud, giving the children time to write their

answer. Several times the children balked at answering and the teacher had to prod them along. Several children wanted to choose more than one person (almost exclusively for the 'favorable' questions); some did not want to choose anyone for the 'unfavorable' questions. Indeed, some children left a few of the unfavorable questions blank or filled in their own name (regardless of whether they were 'superior' or 'inferior'). The children were also quite concerned that the others not see their papers. (The teacher assured them that the rest of the class would not see their answers.) Even though there appeared to be strained feelings among members of the class, apparently the children did not want to carry things as far as committing themselves more permanently (i.e., on paper) than some had by their actions.

Also, it appears that on day one, many of the children (more particularly, the 'superior' ones) perceived the treatment as a game. During the first part of the day, they apparently did not realize the effect it was having on the 'inferior' children (who did not think the whole thing was funny). However, answering the questionnaire was not perceived as a game. It was taken seriously and perhaps seen more as part of a regular school day, a more long-range thing. And the manipulations had not been powerful enough to affect such long-range preferences as the questionnaire called for. Quite possibly the children did not think the

questionnaire was related to the experiment. (They were not given any explanation of why it was being administered; they were just asked to fill it out.) Perhaps if the teacher had said, upon administering the questionnaire, "This is to see just how you feel today. We'll get rid of these papers right after today", the answers might have been different.

Finally, by the end of lunch period, things had begun to shift. During the morning, the 'inferior' children had received bad treatment from several of the 'superior' children. Later, the 'superior' children apparently began to feel sorry for the 'inferior' ones. Since the questionnaire was administered in the afternoon, this shift might also have affected the answers to the questionnaire.

Choice of board partner. The same reasons as proposed for the lack of effect on Questionnaire A are suggested for the lack of effect on choice of board partner. Choosing someone with whom to work at the board may have been seen as apart from the treatment and have been taken more seriously than might have been expected. The children apparently chose their long-time friends as they would have on a regular school day.

Again, the teacher did not indicate that choosing a partner was part of the treatment; she did not say anything about "being careful about choosing one of your own kind, etc."

Finally, choices were indicated after lunch when there appeared to be less antagonism towards the 'inferior' children.

Coding task. It was predicted that the manipulations would have a detrimental effect on the children's performance on the simple perceptual-motor task chosen for the experiment. The results did not indicate this to be the case.

Although many have found a decrement in performance under low expectancy performance conditions, some investigators have not been able to replicate these findings (e.g., Ward & Sandvold, 1963; Lowin & Epstein, 1965). Lowin and Epstein (1965) suggest that the desire to do well or need to achieve may be working in opposition to the motivation to fulfill expectations and this may account for the discrepancy in results. "It may be fruitful to consider the motivation to achieve and the motivation to act consistently with expectancies as co-existing in some unknown ratio Contradictory results may . . . [be] due to a shift in this crucial balance of motivations [Lowin & Epstein, 1965]".

Conceivably, within each child, these two motivating forces may have existed; in some children, the one being more powerful, in others, the other being more powerful. Some support for this hypothesis was suggested in the comments of two 'inferior' boys at the beginning of day one: "Since we Green people are so dumb, we don't even have to do homework" versus "Let's work hard and show them we can

do good." The two reactions of the class, then, may have been "let's show them" and "they expect us to be dumb, let's be dumb" or "they expect us to be dumb, why even try".

Also, as with Questionnaire A and choosing board partners, the coding task may have been seen as apart from the manipulations. It might have made a difference if the teacher had said, before the task was administered, "I don't expect the inferior children to do very well on this" or, "I already know who's going to do well and who's going to do poorly" and if she had reminded them of their previous failures. This may also have added to the stressfulness of the situation.

As it was, probably a differing amount of stress or arousal was experienced by various individuals in the class. Perhaps for some of the children, who were quite upset by the treatment they had received, the stress had a debilitating effect. But perhaps for others, it was a motivating factor and contributed to a better performance.

It is interesting to note, however, that though the means of the inferior and superior children were close (though there was a very slight difference in the predicted direction), the variances of the 'green' Ss was almost twice that of the 'orange' Ss. Since G's were the inferior children on the first day (when, it is assumed, the ill-treatment was most powerful), the larger

variance may have been an indication of the differing reactions to performance expectancy or stress. It is difficult to speculate as to why it would occur on day two, however. It does not seem that it would be a reflection of differing perceptual-motor abilities of the two groups; since the children were randomly assigned to groups, one would expect an equal proportion of good, average, and poor performers in each group. Also, performance on the digit-span task was almost identical for the two groups, and though this task involved somewhat different skills, it is perhaps an indication that the two groups did not differ greatly in ability. (It should be noted that the coding task is more sensitive to motivational instructions than is the digit-span and has been used by several investigators in studying the effects of such.) Perhaps there was some carry-over from day one making the task stressful for the G's on day two also.

Performance on the coding task for both O's and G's on day two was quite superior to their performance on day one (the F-test for order effects was significant well beyond the .01 level), most probably because of learning or practice effects.

Digit-span. It appears that the manipulations did not affect performance on the digit-span for either group on either day. The children performed as is average, memory span for digits being 7 ± 2 (Miller, 1956).

If the manipulations had been more powerful or stressful, one might expect that the 'inferior' group would not have performed to capacity. However, this was not the case.

Again it seems relevant to consider the immediate conditions under which the digit-span was administered. The children were individually called aside by the teacher who amiably dealt with each child.

Previous contact with black people. The children from both the experimental and control class indicated that they had come in contact with very few black people. (And at least a few of these definitely do not fit the stereotype, e.g., the black teachers and students in their school.) From knowledge of the community in which they live, their estimates seem reasonable. This provides support for the idea of prejudice being learned from contact with a stereotype about a group rather than from contact with individuals of such a group. What the children said when asked about black people on day one and what they answered in response to Questionnaire B then are reflections of what they have learned from parents, relatives, other individuals, the mass media, etc. These results indicate that prejudice is learned early and suggest it should be combatted early.

Questionnaire B. The major dependent measure, Questionnaire B, generally showed a very significant difference between the experimental and control classes. Two weeks later, the effect of the manipulations seemed

even greater. When E returned to the school two weeks after the initial administration of the questionnaire, the teacher of the experimental class told her that after the three days of the experiment, the children had wanted to forget what had gone on; they had not wanted to talk about it. When the questionnaire was given out the last time, several children commented, "Oh no; do we have to do that again." They plainly did not want to fill out the questionnaire. Apparently the experience had been a powerful and unpleasant one.

Two factors which possibly could have affected the responses to Questionnaire B should be considered. Conceivably, the children in the experimental class were influenced by the teacher's expectations and desires. They may have guessed the answers she wanted and, to please her, chosen them. Though this is a possibility, it is the belief of the present investigator that the children took the questionnaire seriously and answered it honestly. They were not made to feel by the teacher that she would no longer like them if they did not answer as she wanted. Also, if it were the case that the children were answering in conformity to the teacher's wishes, one would expect an even greater effect to have been manifested and a more uniform checking of 'wanted' answers. In almost no case was any one answer (e.g., "don't believe a lot") checked consistently by an individual. From the pattern of responses

it appears as if each question was individually considered and honestly answered.

The second possible influence on the results involves the black boy in the control class. He was described by the teacher of the control class as a borderline special education student. A slow learner, he was also described as quite passive, easy-going, quiet, friendly. The teacher also indicated that he was neat and clean and E's observation of him fully confirmed this. When asked how the other children in class react towards him, the teacher replied that they were friendly towards him and seemed to like him. This child goes to another class for language arts in the morning (Questionnaire B was administered to the control class during this time while he was not present) and most probably for math also. (Therefore he was not actually in class a good deal of the day.) Almost everyone in the control class had had a black child in class with them previously other than the one presently in their class. (Their previous classmate had not been similar in possessing the characteristics their present one does which conceivably might have influenced the children.) The children in the control class had also had a very competent black teacher. Indeed their answer to the question concerning whether they would prefer a black or white teacher, or if they did not care about which one they

had, probably indicates that the children had been favorably impressed by her.

It is interesting to note that on the second administration of Questionnaire B, χ^2 for Q. 6, "Black children should go to separate schools from white children", was significant at the .01 level. When E returned to school two weeks later, the teacher of the control class told her that several parents had inquired about the questionnaire. It is conceivable that when the parents heard about the questionnaire, they may have related it to the recent issue of busing, and this may have prompted a discussion of separate schools for blacks and whites. This possibly could have affected the children's responses to Q. 6 on the second administration of the questionnaire.

The results then indicate that, though neither class appeared high in prejudice, the children did possess prejudiced beliefs to some extent, and the two days' experience of the experimental class had significantly affected these children's responses to Questionnaire B.

Though there was no evidence from the measures designed to check the effect of the manipulations within the experimental class that the treatment was successful, when the experimental class was compared with the control class the effects did become apparent.

Future Research Suggestions

As a suggestion for future work, it might be fruitful to design categories of behaviors which would indicate if the treatment was being effective within the experimental class (e.g., name-calling, note-writing, hostile remarks, derogatory comments, crying, aggressive behaviors). The frequency of occurrence of such behaviors during the time of the manipulations might then be compared against a pre-test baseline.

The present investigator also feels that it would have been better if she had sat in on class a few days before the experiment was to take place. She then might have been able to establish better rapport with the children who then might have felt more at ease and been more talkative during her questioning of them at the end of each day. As it was, several of the children appeared somewhat shy and unwilling to volunteer a great deal about their thoughts and feelings.

Also, sitting in on class before the experimental days would have been good in that it would have given E the opportunity to learn something of the various children (she would have then been better able to observe them during the experimental days) and it would have also given her the opportunity to learn the children's names.

During the two days, there were some outstanding and obvious comments and actions which were relevant and

interesting to note. Many times these behaviors came from the same few children. In order not to get a distorted picture of what was going on, it is necessary to identify when the same child was engaging in the several different behaviors. Being better acquainted with the children would have made it easier to do this. It might also have allowed for observation of more subtle behaviors which were perhaps going on undetected by E.

Concluding Remarks

Though the manipulations had an effect on the children's responses to Questionnaire B, the question of how the experience will affect their actual future behaviors towards black people still remains to be answered. (It would have been enlightening to have arranged a situation in which the children from both classes could have actually interacted with black children. However this was not feasible at the time of the experiment. It perhaps would be another fruitful next step, however. It might also have been desirable to have obtained a measure of the experimental Ss' attitudes or behaviors towards blacks before the manipulations, and a consequent post-measure.)

It is the belief and hope of the present investigator, however, that the experience has had a powerful effect on the children. Conceivably, it will contribute towards changing the children's way of perceiving blacks and of reacting to what they hear about blacks. Hopefully the

experience will have made the children less apt to over-generalize and hold to stereotypes; will have given them a better understanding of the consequences of discriminatory treatment (e.g., resentment, feelings of inferiority, etc.); and will have given them a better understanding of and compassion for groups which have undergone (or presently undergo) such treatment. Of course, the ultimate goals of the experiment were to make the children less likely to be prejudiced and to engage in discriminatory behaviors. If the experiment has been successful with these children, hopefully the effect will ultimately be felt by the larger community and as future parents, voters and citizens in professional positions, they will contribute towards making our society one in which there is truly equal opportunity and justice for all.

It would seem as if a possibly powerful tool is at the disposal of those concerned with modifying prejudice and discrimination, a tool which can be pragmatically implemented in educational practice. (The schools have both the population with which to work and the opportunity for taking action.) Along with other methods for effecting such a modification, then, the one just explored presents itself.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

The present study undertook to explore the hypothesis that having been the object of prejudice and discrimination, a person will be less likely to hold prejudiced beliefs and exhibit discriminatory tendencies toward a minority group.

The setting for the experiment was a rural suburban elementary school. Two third grade classes with 31 children in each class constituted the subjects.

The bulk of the experiment took place on two days. On the first day, after discussing prejudice and discrimination with the class, the teacher of the experimental class told the children that they were going to see what it feels like to be the object of such forces. The children were randomly assigned to be 'Orange' (O) or 'Green' (G) people. The class was told that O children possessed certain superior traits and these children were granted privileges G's were denied. Throughout the day the teacher seized every opportunity to praise O's and criticize G's. On the second day, conditions were reversed and the G children became the superior group.

As a check on the effect of the manipulations, the children were asked to indicate with whom they would like to work at the board; record was kept of whether 'superior'

children were predominately chosen. The children were also administered a questionnaire, likewise to determine if 'superior' children would be chosen as answers for such questions as "who I would like to be my best friend". The children were also given two performance tasks to see if the 'superior' children's performance would excel that of the 'inferior' group. Finally, several children were asked how they had felt about the experience. The second day ended with a discussion relating the children's treatment to discrimination and prejudice.

On the third day, the experimental class and a control class (which had not been through the manipulations of being O and G people) were administered a questionnaire concerning their beliefs about black people to determine if the children in the experimental class would indicate less prejudice as compared with the control class. Two weeks later, the same questionnaire was again administered to both classes to determine if the effect had lasted if indeed there had been an effect.

Although the quantitative measures intended to check the effects of the manipulations did not yield significant results, the occurrences of the days indicate that the manipulations had had a powerful effect on the class. The results from the major dependant measure, the second questionnaire, indicate that the manipulations had had a significant effect on the experimental class as compared with the control class.

The method explored is presented as a potentially very effective method in modifying prejudice and discrimination.

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APPENDIX

Proceedings of Experimental Days

DAY I (WEDNESDAY, MAY 12, 1971)

8:00 (Children had started coming into class. Since it was raining, class started a little late; some children were coming in late.)

8:15 (The children were in their seats; they said the Pledge of Allegiance. After they finished saying the Pledge, the teacher said:)

Let's talk a little bit about the last thing we said in our Pledge. What was that?

Child: Liberty and justice for all.

Teacher: Liberty and justice for all. All right. Let's talk about liberty. What is liberty?

Child: Freedom.

Teacher: Freedom. O.K., freedom for everyone. What about justice? What does justice mean?

(Some mumbling from children)

Child: Be fair to everyone.

Teacher: O.K., it means being fair, doesn't it? Fair treatment for everybody. That means if Sheila has committed a crime, should Jill be punished for it?

Children: No.

Teacher: Now let's suppose Sheila didn't commit a crime, should she be punished?

Children: No.

Teacher: O.K., now we said in our Pledge in our country we have freedom and justice for all. Do we?

Children: No.

Teacher: Who in this country is not free? does not have freedom?

Child: People in jail.

(This was followed by some mumbling from the class, including comments about people who hurt people.)

Teacher: Let's talk about some people who are not free do do the things they want to do; not free to move where they want, not free to go to some schools, not free to go to certain restaurants. Who are they?

Child: Colored people.

Teacher: All right. And what about Indians?

(Nods, but not much reaction from class)

Teacher: What are some of the things that we hear, that are said, about black people? What things are said about black people?

Child: People used to make slaves of them.

Teacher: What I mean is, what are some things you hear people say in your everyday life?

Child: They steal.

Teacher: They steal, all right. What other things?

Child: White people do that too.

Teacher: Well, we're not talking about white people right now. Let's talk just about some statements you hear about black people.

Another child: They always carry knives.

Teacher: Yes, they always carry weapons with them; always carry knives. They fight; they're mean.

Another child: If you give 'um something, they just want more.

Teacher: Yeah, I've heard that too. Give 'um one thing and they just want more. They don't want to work for a living. You've heard that? What else do you hear?

Child: They grab people and hurt them.

Teacher: Yeah, all right. And for these reasons and for many more reasons for many years colored people could not go to certain restaurants, they couldn't go to movies and sit where they wanted to, they couldn't even sometimes walk down private streets; they had their own streets they had to go down. They had to be in their homes earlier than everybody else. Nobody trusted them. Nobody wanted to see them on the streets. They were afraid they'd steal something; hurt somebody.

(The teacher was from the Deep South and so these things, which might sound exaggerated, were no doubt occurrences in her background.)

Child: Yeah, and they used to have to sit in the back of the bus.

Teacher: Now, I want you to think about this just for a minute. Can you really imagine what it feels like to be a little black boy or a little black girl?--for people to treat you a certain way just because of the color of your skin? Do you really know what that feels like?

(Pause; not much response from class)

Teacher: Well, we're going to see.

Child: For creative writing?

Teacher: No, not for creative writing. We're going to divide this class into two groups and one group we're going to make different from us. Now we all look alike in here. We all have on different colors of clothes so we can't use that. So I brought something we can use today. We're going to use these armbands and make one part of this room a different color from us; they're going to be treated different from us.

Children: Yea!

One child: Does everybody get to wear one?

Teacher: Yes.

Children: Do we get to wear them all day?

Teacher: Yes.

Children: (very loud and happy) Yea! (clapping)

Child: Do we get to keep them?

Teacher: Let's wait and see.

(Class laughing and clapping)

Teacher: Sounds like fun, doesn't it?

Children: Yeah!

Teacher: O.K., quiet down now and let me call out the names of the Green people.

(Names were called out; armbands were tied on; teacher told children not to remove them. After the armbands were tied on):

Teacher: Did you know that Orange people are smarter than Green people?

(Laughing and clapping)

They are cleaner than Green people.

(More laughing and clapping)

They smell nicer than Green people.

(Laughing and applause)

They learn faster.

(Laughing and applause)

O.K., some of you don't believe it. Let's look at David. Look how David's sitting (David was slouched in his chair). When he came in this morning, how was his hair?

Children: Wet.

Teacher: Yes, wet and messed up. Doesn't that tell you something about Green people? They aren't very neat, are they? They're not really even smart enough to get in out of the rain, are they?

Children: No! (laughing and talking)

(Kevin, a Green boy, was dissenting; teacher told him to quiet down.)

Teacher: Listen to Kevin. Listen to his manners.

Children: Yeah.

Teacher: What do you expect, he's a Green person.

Children: Yeah.

Teacher: Green people aren't very smart; they aren't smart enough to keep their mouth shut.

(Some talking among the children)

Teacher: Class, now listen. Since Orange people are the better people in this room, all day today they get to go first in line.

Class: Yea!

Teacher: Orange people get to drink more water than the Green people.

Class: Yea!

Teacher: Orange people may have nuttie-buddies and dessert today; Green people may not.

(Clapping and yeaing and laughing)

Child (G): Are you really serious?

Teacher: I am serious.
I doubt we'll get to go outside to play today since it's raining, so we'll play inside the room, and you Green people will have to play among yourselves. And you Orange people can play together. You wouldn't really mind playing with some of the Green people, but what would your friends think? They wouldn't think that was so good.

O.K., we're sitting in a classroom together. Since we can't move these people out to another room, we want to get them as far away from us as we can. Where are the better seats in the room?

(Disagreement among the children as to whether the front or back seats were more fun)

Teacher: O.K., let's take a vote just among the Orange people; Green people don't get to vote.

(Laughing and clapping)

(The back of the room was voted most fun. Class began to change seats by moving the desks; there was some noise and confusion.)

Boy (G): That's O.K.; if they (referring to O's) sit in the back, they can't see the board.

Teacher: Well, maybe Orange people should just sit on the right side so they can see the board; since they're my smarter, better children, I don't want them not to be able to see the board. Orange people, push your seats to the back and Green people push yours up to the left.

(There was quite a bit of noise and talking from the whole class. When the G's' desks were finally in place, teacher said to O's:

See how much noise the Green people made in getting their desks into place? Let's show them how it should be done; let's do it quietly.

(Orange people then very quietly pushed their desks into place to the right.)

Teacher: Orange people, you did a very good job! I think if you'll notice today, probably the cleaner side of the room will be this side (indicating the right). The desks are neater on this side. (Teacher then pointed to some papers sticking out of one Green boy's desk.) Look how messy! The papers that are handed in will be neater and the better work will come from this side of the room (indicating right side again).

(Susan [O] said that if the G's and O's handed in their papers together, the G's would stink up the O's papers; some other children said 'yeah!')

Teacher: You know I hadn't thought of that. You know I heard someone say one time that when they get an application from someone like a Green person, it actually smells. And you know, I noticed it in your papers, so we'll make two separate stacks--a stack for the Green people--'cause I know what their work's going to be like anyway--and one for the Orange people.

8:30. All the children were in their places and quiet.
Sheila (G) was crying.

Kevin (G): Since we Green people are so dumb, we don't even
have to do homework.

Another Shut up, Kevin; let's work hard and show them
boy(G): we can do good.

Teacher: Since you're so dumb, you need to work even
harder, just to catch on. If anyone needs it,
you do!

(It was warm in the room and the windows were closed.)

Teacher: Let's open some windows; it's warm in here and
there's a smell on that side of the room. You
know, especially when it's warm, Green people
really smell.

(While the teacher was opening some windows . . ., Susan
(O), standing up, holding her nose, said loud enough for
the whole class to hear:

Phew; there's an odor on that side.

8:45. (Some talking from class)

Teacher: We're ready to do some work now. I'm not going
to wait for these Green people; they're not
going to keep us waiting.

(She then began teaching phonic material.)

(Several times the teacher asked questions and called on
only Orange people to answer. After an Orange child would
answer, she would praise him, saying Orange people were
really smart, really learned fast, etc. After the teacher
had called on several O's and praised them a number of
times, several G children said:)

You don't call on us.

(Teacher ignored them; some dissenting among the G's
continued.)

Teacher: See how quiet and good the Orange people are.

Child (G): Green people are quiet too.

Another: We wouldn't be acting this way if you weren't
child(G):criticing.

(Teacher ignored these comments also and continued teaching and calling on O children; G children, who had been raising their hands to answer questions, stopped doing so. When there was a question, only O people would raise their hands and only O people would be called on.)

(Susan [O] asked the teacher if she could go to the bathroom.)

Teacher: Of course you can go to the bathroom. Orange people are responsible. You shouldn't even have to ask.

(By now, several children, both Orange and Green, were beginning to say that the treatment was not fair.)

9:20. (It was time for the whole class to go as a group to the bathroom and to get water. When lining up to leave, the Orange people got in line first; Green people went to the back of the line. The teacher told the class that since Green people are messy and dirty, they shouldn't go to the bathroom first.)

(Some of the privileged posts delegated to several of the children included those of line-leaders, monitors, door-holders, and book-distributors. After assigning O children positions of line-leaders and monitors, the teacher said:

If you're a Green person, you can't hold any kind of a job. Green people aren't responsible.

Child (O): This isn't fair.

Teacher: Who said this was going to be fair? Don't worry about it. They'll get along. Green people have gotten along all these years. Green people, don't put your hands on any of these Orange people and smell them up.

(There was a long line and the teacher had gone out of the class with the O children; E and the G people were still inside the class. Three of the G girls, including one named Lisa, all of whom had had forlorn faces all morning, turned to E (with brightened faces--rays of hope) and asked:

Will you be our Green teacher?

(E made an 'oh, no' face and shook her head no; their faces fell again; they went quietly out the door.)

9:25. (In the hall, E moved up to where another group of G people were in line. A couple of G boys asked if E was on their side. E said no.)

(From the front of the line where the teacher was with the O children, a couple of O's slipped and called the G's blacks; some G's were trying to hide their armbands under their sleeves [while in line].)

(Some O's, sympathizing with the G's, said they were going to slip them some ice cream at lunch. [It should be noted that nuttie-buddies were a very important commodity to this community and the children indicated that they were being greatly deprived when not allowed to obtain them.])

(O's went to the bathroom first; the G's waited until they were out and then they went in.)

(While the children were in the bathroom and getting water, the teacher went to the principal's office for a few minutes.)

(When the children were back in class, one G boy said [seriously] to the group of G children sitting around him that Mrs. ---- had gone to tell the principal that the G people weren't doing good work.)

9:30. (Teacher was in front of the class teaching grammar and writing; E, in the back, observed a G boy take his armband off. Teacher did not see this.)

(Susan [O] had written a note and had shown it to a couple of children sitting near her; the note was later detected and confiscated by the teacher. The note said: "Green people stink! Green people are ugly! Green is ugly!")

9:40. (Teacher took a group of children to the back for reading, leaving the rest of the class to work quietly on a grammar and writing assignment. Within the reading group, O's sat in the front chairs, G's in the back. There was one boy who only sat in on the first part of Mrs. ----'s class for language arts [from the start of class until 11:00]. He was not given an armband. It was explained to

him from the start of class that this was an experiment and he could just watch and not be O or G. When he came back to the reading group, after the teacher told the O's to sit in the front and the G's in back, he asked [in a voice loud enough for the group to hear] where he was supposed to sit. Teacher said he could sit wherever he wanted. A couple of children asked him which side he was on. He said he was on the G's side. But he sat in front with the O's. A couple of children then said to him:

I thought you were on the G's side.

Boy (O): Go back and sit with them.

He said:

Yeah, but Mrs. ---- said I could sit wherever I wanted.

(He continued to sit in front with the O's.)

(During reading the teacher only called on O's to read. When she asked questions and children raised their hands to answer, she only called on O's. She praised O's on how smart they were, how well they read.)

(Within the group, David [G], in a Boy Scout uniform, who had taken his armband off earlier during reading and had been told to put it back on, hid it under his long-sleeved shirt. There were two boys in Scout uniforms that day; David [G] and Jonathan [O]; these two boys were very good friends.)

(Towards the end of reading time, the teacher called on a G boy to read. After he had read, one O boy, defending G's, said:)

See, Green's read well.

Teacher: You better be careful or the Orange people are going to turn against you and call you a 'green-lover'.

(Right after this comment, Mark [O] did call him a 'green-lover'.)

(After this reading-out-loud period, the teacher told the group to finish reading a story and then go back to their seats. She then went to the front of the class. After a few minutes, children started going back to their seats. Three G people were the last to leave the back. The teacher, calling attention to this, said:)

Look who's the last to finish.

(From the front of the class, Kevin (G) said to the teacher that someone had put up a sign saying: "Greens are pigs.")

Someone else said: (Brian (O) wrote it."

10:00. (A second reading group came to the back of the room while the rest of the class worked quietly at their desks in the front. Again the O's were told to sit in the front, the G's in the back. The teacher then called on Kevin (G) to read. She told the children in the front to be very quiet so she could hear him because he was green and read so softly.)

(Then an O girl read, and Kevin said sarcastically:

I can't hear Jill; she reads so soft.

(The teacher ignored the comment.)

(Next, another G girl read. The teacher told her to read louder. She then stumbled on a word, and the teacher said:)

Orange people, help her."

(Another G girl [Christina] read. After she finished, the teacher said:)

That wasn't too bad for a Green person.

(A couple of children from the front of the room were asking permission to go to the bathroom while the teacher was in the back with the reading group. Susan [O] said that all the G people were asking to return to the bathroom right after they had just been there. A G girl then replied bitterly:)

We're different from them, absolutely different.

(A G boy from the front of the class came back to the teacher to ask her something. There was jeering from the O's. While the boy was talking to the teacher, Kevin [G], in the reading group, hid his armband under his short-sleeved shirt.)

10:30. (The second reading group returned to their seats, and three boys [all O's] were called to the back for a third reading group while the rest of the class worked quietly. One of the boys [Mark] said to the teacher:

Mrs. ----, it's not fun any more.

Teacher: Oh, at the beginning, you thought it was fun.

Mark: I thought it was going to be at the beginning of class, but it's not.

(In the front of the class, some O boys had been jeering at Ken [G]; E could not hear what they were saying. But Ken then said, loud enough to be heard in the back of the class:)

I'm not against them except when they holler out at me.

A G boy sitting in the back of the front of the class said to E:

Don't teach your class like this or they'll hate you.

10:40. (The three boys from the reading group returned to their seats in the front and the whole class worked quietly. The teacher was standing beside E talking with her when an O boy came back to her and said:)

Mrs. ----, you know we've spent half this morning arguing.

(Teacher then went to her desk and looked over some grammar papers which had been written while she was working with the reading groups. The children were to use homonyms correctly in sentences. Two of the words to be correctly used in sentences were 'here' and 'hear'. Susan [O] had written: "Can't you hear me, Green people. Come here!")

(While the teacher was working at her desk, several children asked her if they would be Green tomorrow. She said that they would.)

Kevin (G): I'm going to act sick tomorrow so I won't have to come to school.

(Another G child said that he was not coming to school tomorrow either.)

Another child: I've lost a lot of friends.

David (G): I'd rather not eat lunch.

Ken (G) I hope they (indicating the O's) find out (bitterly): what it feels like.

10:45. (It was now time for math. Most of the children had to go out to different classes for math; a lot of children came in to Mrs. ----'s class for math. Teacher told the children to line up to go to math, the O's in front, G's in back for each of three different groups. While the children were lining up, a G boy said to the teacher:

Mrs. ----, tell them (O's) to stop making signs about us.

Teacher: They're not making signs about you; they're making signs about air pollution. Are you polluting the air?

(To which several children laughed and said 'Yes'.)

(While groups of children were going out of class, at the end of the line [where the G people were], there was some scuffling and talking. Two children were arguing about something. Jill [O], sitting in the back of class [she was to remain in Mrs. ----'s class for math], said to the other remaining O's, loud enough for the G's in line to hear:)

Look at the Green people; they're always fussing at each other.

(Manipulations were temporarily suspended during math time.)

(At the end of the day when E was talking to Sheila [G], she said that she had hidden her armband during math class, because she did not want the other children to make fun of her. She felt like they hated her.)

10:55. (Math class started; only a few children with armbands were left in class.)

11:35. (Children came back to their own class. The teacher told them that after lunch they would be working in pairs at the board, and to be thinking about with whom they wanted to work.)

Girl (G): I'm not coming to school tomorrow.

(A few minutes remained before lunch. Whenever there was extra time, the children got up in front of class to talk about anything they wanted [relate some experience of interest]. While a child was talking in front of class, the teacher was at the back at her desk. Three or four G children came up to her and said:

They (O's) don't know what it feels like.

11:45. (Children lined up for lunch, O's in front, G's in back. The children were again told that the G's would not get dessert. The children were to go in separate lines in the lunchroom [ordinarily, there were two separate lines, one for girls and one for boys] and O's and G's were not to sit on the same side of the table. O's were again reminded that they should not talk or play with the G's; they might be called 'green-lovers'.)

Mark (O): Jonathan (O) is a green-lover. (He had been talking with David [G].)

(Also the G's were not to talk at the lunch table until five minutes after the O's could start talking. Lunch started at quarter to 12. Ordinarily, the children were not supposed to talk until 12 [because of the crowded lunchroom conditions, it was necessary to move the children through the lunchroom rapidly; quiet was therefore maintained until 12]. O's got to talk at 12, G's at five after.)

(The prompting antecedent was not detected, but E then heard a G girl say [bitterly]:)

You think it's funny, don't you, Jill?

(Jill was laughing.)

(The children then went out to lunch.)

(At the lunch table, O's sat on one side, G's on the opposite side so that the G's could watch the O's eating their nuttie-buddies, which they [the G's] had been denied; flaunting it in their faces, as it were.)

(At lunch, while going through the line, Ken (G) kicked the metal milk container very hard.)

(Mike [G] started crying during lunch.)

(After lunch, the O's threw their trash away first and got in line first to go back to class. O's got to be lunchroom door-holders.)

(On the way back to class, the children went through the hall and then stopped at the bathroom. The O's went first, then the G's. In the line on the way back from the bathroom, Lisa [G] was crying. Several O people in line were saying that it was not fair; even Susan, the sign-and-note writer, was protesting.)

12:45. (The children were back in class. Brian, who had previously given the teacher a note saying:

Brian

Miss [sic.] ---,

Your [sic.] going to have a talk with me, Mark, Ken, Ronnie, James. If they don't chicken out first.--

returned with a delegation of boys to Mrs. ----, protesting that the treatment was not fair. About the same time, in the front of the class, Susan [O] held up a sign saying:)

GREEN IS JUST AS GOOD AS ORANGE. IT'S UNFAIR. IT'S UNFAIR. Mrs. ----, you didn't say it would be fair. We don't care. We don't like it, the Green or the Orange!

(Since it was still rainy, the children did not go out to recess.)

Teacher: O's better not play with G's; they'd better play separate games.

(Pro-Green sentiment was running high, however, and the O's said they wanted to play with them. Teacher said they could decide who wanted to play with G's. All the O's but three [all girls] got up to play with the G's. Teacher then said that the O's could decide what games to play. Several O boys said quite loudly:)

No, let the Green's decide.

Teacher: Do you want them to decide? Are you sure?

(They said 'yes'.)

(G's decided to play 'Elephant'. A circle was formed with one person in the center and the game proceeded. Two of the O girls got up and joined the circle. As the game progressed, people were put 'out' and returned to their seats.)

(At the end of the day, E asked the third girl why she did not play with the rest of the children at recess. She said that she did not feel like playing. E asked her if she did not want to play with the Green people. She said no, that was not the reason; she just did not feel like playing. [This girl was very quiet, retiring; she seemed to be quite unhappy and downtrodden that day.]

12:55. (While the children were playing, Susan [O] came back to the teacher and said:)

They used to be best friends; now Diana (G) hates Jill (O).

(While the children were playing, each child came back to the teacher, one by one, to tell her with whom they wanted to work at the board.)

1:00. (Children back in their seats. Questionnaire A was given.)

1:25. (Digit-symbol coding task was given.)

1:30. (Children went to the bathroom as a group again [O's first, G's last]).

1:40. (Teacher administered digit-span individually to each child in the front of the room while E, in the back of the room, asked several children how they felt that day. Almost all of the children [both O's and G's] indicated that they had not liked that day; they felt badly about what had gone on. Several O children said that they liked it at first, and had thought it would be fun, but did not like it later; they did not think it was fair. One O boy, when asked how he felt that day, said that he did not like it. It was unfair to G's; it was unfair, he volunteered, because "you ought to be fair to

everyone, no matter what color they are." E, questioning Susan [O], found that she had thought it was funny until lunch time. E asked her what made her change her mind. She said because some G people were crying. She then said she did not think colored people are really treated that way. "People aren't that mean to them [i.e., as mean as they had been to G's that day].")

2:05. (Teacher told the class that the next day the G's would be on top.)

2:15. (Children who walked home left class. As one girl was leaving, she remarked to the teacher [loud enough for class to hear], I "didn't like today.")

2:30. (The rest of the class left.)

DAY II (THURSDAY, MAY 13, 1971)

(Before class started, the teacher told E that Diana(G)'s mother [who is a teacher in that school] had just told her [the teacher] that the previous afternoon, when Diana came home after school, she had said she hated Jill [G]. The two girls were best friends and played together all the time--on week-ends and after school as well as at school. Diana's mother had tempered her daughter's anger by asking:)

Do you not want to go to summer camp with Jill (the two were to go together)?

(Diana did not want to carry it that far, nor had her feelings led her on the questionnaire to answer

Who would you like to be your best friend?

anyone but Jill.)

(It was rainy again and several children were coming in late. Three children did not come to school that day [two O boys and a G girl; the G girl had gone to the dentist the previous afternoon to have braces put on and to have two teeth extracted--the probable cause for her absence.] One boy's absence was definitely related to the previous day's manipulations; the other's probably was also.)

(As the children were coming into class, some were saying that James would not be coming to school that day; that his mother had called their mothers last night and that she was not pleased with what had gone on [James, from the start the day before, had said that it was not fair].)

8:00. (Most of the children were in class. The teacher asked some of them how their parents had reacted. From the children's comments, except for James' mother, no parents seemed very upset. Several children said that they had not wanted to come to school that day.

Ken (G): Well, this morning I was just eating; I wasn't even thinking about it, and then my mother and sister started teasing me about it.

Teacher: What'd they say?

Ken: They said Green people can't have rolls.

(Laughter from teacher and class)

Ken
(loudly): It's not funny! They were teasing me.

Another child: My mother asked me if I wanted her to put a roll in my lunch today.

(Several other children accusingly said that their mothers had included dessert in their lunchboxes also.)

Teacher: Well, I don't care!

Child (G): Mrs. ----, why do you let them do that cuz we didn't know about it and it's not fair.

(A few 'Yeahs' from G's)

(Objections from the class about having to have class as the day before again/that day)

Teacher: You're really lucky; you were the only class in the school that got chosen to do this.

Child: We don't even want to do this.

Why does it have to be us?

(Some more objections)

(The teacher asked about the reaction of James' mother.)

Susan (O): James' mother was so mad she about jumped through the ceiling. She was read mad; she didn't like it; and she said he might not come to school today.

(The children's reactions were largely turned against the teacher.)

Teacher: I'm not on anybody's side.

Child: You're going to have to be a Green person today.

Another
child: Yeah.

Child: And we'll take your money away.

Teacher: I wonder why . . . I think it's really interesting that in a situation where you were discriminated against, you took it out on one person; you took it out on me.

But now you can imagine what it'd be like to go through your life every day . . .

(Talking from class)

Child: We can fight our own battles.

Several
children: Yeah!

Child: You're taking away our duties and we can't get desserts and things and it's really not fair.

Teacher: Well, nobody said it was fair.

(Some more dissensions . . . class called to order.)

8:15. (Sang a song.)

8:20. (Armbands passed out. Several G's wanted to wear O armbands, even though they were told that G would be on top. Several seemed convinced that Green was bad.)

Child: Mrs. ----, Orange is better.

Teacher: No it's not; that's what I want to tell you about. Yesterday I lied to you. I told you that orange people were better than green people. But I was lying. As a matter of fact, green people are better than orange people . . . they're much better than orange people. They are smarter than orange people. (Pause) They are cleaner than orange people. (Pause) They are neater than orange people. (Some talking in class) Listen. Listen to Ronnie. What's he doing? He's interrupting. He's being rude. Aren't orange people rude? They interrupt. Orange people are not neat; they are not clean. Look at Janet's desk. There are papers falling all out of her desk. Look at Mark. His desk is out of line. Put that desk back in line. Look at the paper on the floor. Because orange people are not as good as green people, they don't get privileges orange people get. Who should go first every time we go down the hall?

From the
class
(loudly: Orange! Green!

Teacher: Green people. They're the better people in this class. Who should get to go to the bathroom first?

Child (G): Let them (referring to the O's) go first cuz they'll cut up. They'll get in trouble if they go in the back.

Teacher: Yeah, but if they go to the bathroom first, you know how dirty they are. You might get diseases from them.

Children: Ooh, yeah.

Child: Mrs. ----, Susan (O) made a face at you when you said we might get diseases from them.

Girl (G): (directed to O girl) I told you it wasn't funny.

Teacher: You know they'll get their hands all over everything and . . .

G children: Yeah, yeah . . .

Ken (G)

(to O's): I told you it wasn't funny!

Teacher: So they'll have to go last.

(Mark [O] talking)

Teacher: Listen, listen to Mark (O). Would you be quiet please while I'm talking to the Green people. We'll have to send a Green monitor in there with them cuz they cannot be responsible.

(Doorholder and line-leader positions were then assigned to G's.)

Teacher: Of course today at lunch, you'll get to wash your hands first; you'll get to get in line first. At lunch, you'll come back in line first. Most orange people don't have very much money and their parents can't afford dessert. Because orange people don't work, most of them are on welfare. They don't want to work; they're too lazy to work . . .

(Dissension from O's)

. . . so you will not buy dessert today.

Child (O): What if we brought it?

Teacher: Now you know the answer to that; if you brought your dessert with your lunch, you may eat it.

(A big 'Yea!' from O's)

Teacher: Who's listening and paying attention?

Class: Orange! Green!

Teacher: Who's making a lot of noise?

Class: Orange! Green!

(A note was confiscated from Susan [O].)

Teacher: Today, when you pass in your papers, I want you to put them in separate stacks; Green's here, Orange's here. Now, we're ready to begin work.

8:35.

Teacher: Grady (G), would you, Lisa (G) and Mike (G) come pass out these reading books?

(Lisa [G] gave E a book and was praised by the teacher for being so thoughtful.)

Teacher: That was very nice to think of that. Aren't Green people thoughtful?

8:40. (Whole class was reading together [not in separate groups]. G's were called on almost exclusively. The children were reading a story about a stranger asking children to get into his car. Teacher had just stressed how dangerous it would be for a child to accept a ride from a stranger.)

Keven (G): The Oranges are so dumb, they'd probably just get right in.

(David [G] read and stumbled on a word; Mark [O] and some other O's sarcastically said the word right.)

(Teacher, considering whom to call on to give the main idea of the story, asked:

Who should I call on?

Several G's (Ken, Kevin, Grady):

Give the Oranges a chance.

9:05. (Class went to the bathroom and to get water. Several G's were talking about getting cooties from the O's.)

(Mark [O] asked the teacher if they were going to change the desks back after that day.)

9:20. (Spelling, writing, grammar)

9:45. (A reading group came to the back while the rest of the children worked quietly. Teacher did not have to tell the O's to sit in the back and the G's in front. They just sat that way.)

(While the reading group was in session in the back, Mark [O], in front, who had come over to the G side of the room, was looking at a plant on the window sill. He and Mike [G] began jeering at each other. Kevin, Ken, Mike [G's] then told the O's to "get out of their kingdom [i.e., to leave their side of the room]." Then,)

Mike (G): Mark doesn't have his armband on, Mrs. ----.

(Teacher did not hear this, but Mark did; he, however, kept his armband off until the teacher asked him about it later.)

Mark (O): Look at Mike!

(Mike was making obscene gestures with his hand at the O's; neither E nor the teacher saw this, but heard Mark's remark; teacher told the front of the class to quiet down. Later the teacher asked Mark (O), Brian (O), and another O boy what Mike had been doing. Also, later it was discovered that a boy had written on the top of his grammar paper [which had been written while part of the class was in the reading group and the other part working quietly in front]:

We'll get 'um!

(During the disruption, the teacher noticed that Mark's [O] armband was off and told him to put it back on; she then went back to the reading group. Shortly after she returned, Mark hid his armband under his short-sleeved shirt. Brian [O] also hid his under his long-sleeved shirt.)

(Glenda [O] came back to teacher and said that at lunch yesterday O's had talked to the G's and that the G's should "show them some respect" and be nice to them today.)

(In the front of the room, Mark [O] told David [O] to be quiet.)

Keven (G): Listen, how rude they are.

Mark (O): Look at what Kevin's doing; twirling a yardstick.

(Kevin was twirling a ruler on a pencil.)

Kevin (G): Yardstick? You don't even know what a ruler is.

David (G): I bet you orange people did that (pointing to some books which were not neatly stacked on the shelf).

(Later)

Ken (G): We're the green beans and you're the rotten oranges.

(Several other boys chimed:)

Yeah, you're the rotten oranges.

10:30. (While three O boys were in a reading group with the teacher in the back of class, Jonathan [O] and David [G], in the front of the room, were playing a game together on the floor. [They had finished their grammar/writing assignment.])

Ken (G): Mrs. ---, you said yesterday . . . if they played together we could say he was an orange-lover. David's an orange-lover!

(Many of the G boys then shouted:

David's an orange-lover; David's an orange-lover!

(David, returning to his seat, stopped playing with Jonathan. Gary [G] and Ken [G] continued to jeer at him, calling him an orange-lover, after he was in his seat [which was next to theirs]).

David: Shut up!

(He then left his seat. Jonathan was playing with the child who sat in on class only until 11:00 and with Susan [O]. David, moving to the side of the room, off to himself, pretended to examine the various objects on the shelves. Near the bookcase two O girls, seated on the floor, were playing a game. David came over to them and made some remark unheard by E. The girls said something to him in response, also unheard by E, but E then heard David say:)

Shut up!

(He then left them and wandered off to the back of the room to play alone again. A few minutes later, Grady [G] joined David in the back of the room to play with some clay. E went over to the two O girls and asked them what they had said to David. The two girls looked at each other sheepishly and then replied:)

Get out!

(E then asked them why. The two looked at each other again and made no comment. E then asked [casually]:)

Was it because he was green; or because he was a boy; or what?

Girl: Because he was green.

(In the front of the room, Gary [G] was playing with an O boy.)

Ken: Gary is an orange-lover!

(Diana, a very quiet, shy girl, managed a

Shh.

10:45. (It was time for math and the children went out to the different classes. E went to the teachers' lounge where she met another teacher who knew about what was going on in the experimental class. She asked E how it was going and related that, in her class, she had been having some trouble with some children being disruptive. She had asked the whole class what they should do with the trouble-makers and they had responded:

Put orange tags on them and pretend we don't like them.

11:45. (Lunch)

12:30. (When the teacher asked G's to decide what game to play for recess, they said to let the O's decide. Some, however, did not want to let them do so. The game that was chosen involved passing a ball around while music was playing; when the music was stopped, the person who was left holding the ball was 'out' and had to return to his seat. As it happened, the first person out was a G; several O's shouted:)

Green person!

Grady (G): That's just a game of luck.

(Grady and David [G] were playing with clay in the back of the room.)

(Later someone remarked:)

Three green and one orange are out.

(During recess time, children individually came to the back of the room to tell the teacher with whom they wanted to work at the board. The children were told they would go to the board if there was time, that yesterday there had not been time.)

1:00. (Questionnaire A was given.)

1:15. (Coding task was given. When time was called and the papers were being collected, Kevin [G] continued to work on his. Several children said:

Kevin's still got his; Kevin's still working on his.

Several O's said:

Greens cheat!

Another O said:

I can't believe Green people cheat.

Child (G): Nobody's perfect.

Mark (O): A Green cheated; a Green cheated!

(Children went to the bathroom and to get water.)

1:50. (Children were back in class. Digit-span was given individually to the children while E questioned children in the back of class. Again the consensus was that the children did not like the treatment, did not think it was fair.)

E (to Mark [O]):

Yesterday, you were on the top but you were on the bottom today. How did you feel about that?

Mark (O): I thought it was going to be fun at first, but it wasn't. But I thought it was fair that they got to be the good people today.

E: Did you learn anything from yesterday and today?

Mark: Yes; to be kind to other people if they're not the same color.

E (to Gary [G]):

Weren't some kids calling you an orange-lover today?

Gary (G): Yeah.

E: How did that make you feel?

Gary: I didn't care. I still wanted to play with my friends.

E: Did it make you mad at the people who were calling you names?

Gary: No.

E: Did it make you want to stop playing with your orange friends?

Gary: A little bit, but not much.

E (to David [G]):

A lot of people were calling you an orange-lover today, weren't they?

David (G): Yeah.

E: How did that make you feel?

David: I don't know.

E: Did it make you mad, or make you not feel so good, or what?

David: I don't know.

E: Did it make you want to stop playing with the orange people?

David: Yeah.

E: Why is that?
David: I don't know.
E: Well, what do you think you've learned from today and yesterday?
David: A lot!
E: Like what kinds of things?
David: How colored people feel when you call 'um names and stuff. You should be fair to everybody.

E (to Jonathan [O]):

Let's see, today David (G) was playing with you and the kids started calling him an orange-lover. How did that make you feel?

Jonathan (O):

Terrible.

E: They called you a green-lover yesterday, didn't they?

Jonathan: I don't think they had any right to.

E: Well, how did that affect you and David playing? Did it make any difference?

Jonathan: No.

E: Did you keep playing?

Jonathan: Well, David got up and left.

E (to G girl):

What did you learn from today and yesterday?

Girl (G): Well, about how some people treat other people. Some people treat people mean and some people treat people nice [whether they are on top or not].

2:05. (Debriefing)

Teacher: Today, we treated some people in this class different from the others. They were not given the same privileges.

Class: Right; yeah!

Teacher: They were not treated the same.

Class: Right!

Teacher: They were told that they were stupid.

Class: Right.

Teacher: That they were not as smart.

Class: Right.

Teacher: They weren't given the same privileges.

Class: Right.

Teacher: We said that they smelled bad and they couldn't go to the bathroom when we did. OK, do you remember how all this started? Do you remember the discussion we had yesterday? We were talking about freedom and liberty and you said that there were some people in this country who do not have these freedoms. You said you thought you knew what it felt like. Now, how many of you think you really have some idea?

(A lot nodded that they did.)

Teacher: Was it fun?

Class: No!

Teacher: Was it fun when you were the superior group, when you were the top group?

Class (at first):

Yes.

Then,

No!

Teacher: You only had one day's experience; that's only the beginning of how a black person or an Indian's been made to feel all his life. From the time he's born, he's taught, 'You are black. You

can't do what white people do. You can't go where white people go. You can't go swimming; you're dirty. You don't smell good; you don't take a bath.' In the hot summertime, you stand and you watch white kids play and splash in the water! You think that's fun?

Class: No!

Teacher: You were treated this way almost, weren't you? We didn't go swimming, but we had some privileges. And was it fun?

Children: No!

Teacher: All right. Black children are told they are dumb. They are told they are not smart. And they cannot make as good grades as white children. Do you think that's fair?

Class: No!

Teacher: Do you think that the color of a person's skin has anything to do with how smart he is?

Children (loudly):

No!

Teacher: Did that orange band make you a bad person?

Children: No!

Teacher: Did that green band make you a good person?

Children: No!

Teacher: Does your white skin make you a good person?

Children: No!

Teacher: Does a black person's black skin make him a bad person?

Children: No!

Teacher: Let's take these armbands off.

One child: Colored people can't take their skins off like we can take these bands off.

Teacher: That's right. Can black children take their skins off? Now this is the most important thing I want you to remember: the next time you're riding down the street and you see some black children playing in the street, are you going to say, 'Look at those stupid niggers playing in the street'?

Class: No!

Teacher: Are you going to remember what it felt like when you were a dumb orange?

Class: Yes!

Teacher: When you were a rotten orange? When you see some white children playing with some black children, are you going to say, 'Look at those nigger-lovers'?

Class: No!

Teacher: Are you going to call them that?

Class: No!

Teacher: All right, some of you in here were calling people orange-lovers 'cause they played with the orange children.

Child: Names can't hurt you!

Teacher: Names can hurt too! Yes they can.

Child: Yes, they can!

Another child:

Look at Sheila! (She was crying. Some of the children looked at her, but the teacher did not hear.)

Teacher: People's words can hurt very much. Sometimes they can hurt more than--sometimes I'd rather have someone hit me than to say some of the things they say. It hurts you inside, doesn't it? It makes you feel like someone's walked up and kicked you right in the guts, doesn't it? Didn't it hurt you to hear me say that you were dumb and stupid and that you didn't small good?

Class: Yeah, yeah!

Teacher: Didn't it hurt you just as much as if I had spanked you? And when the class called you names like rotten oranges, didn't that hurt? Some of you in here cried; who cried?

Child: Mike!

(Sandra, Marsha, Sheila, Lisa and Mike raised their hands.)

Teacher: Do you ever want to be responsible for making anybody cry?

Class: No!

Teacher: OK, our armbands didn't make any difference in the kind of people we are, did they?

Class: No!

Teacher: Now let's move our chairs back in place because we are all together and we shouldn't have to be separated.

(Children then sang the song 'We're all together again'. While they were singing, one child said:)

Sheila's crying.

(Glenda also started crying.)

2:30. (Class was dismissed.)

DAY III (FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1971)

James' mother sent a note to the teacher saying that James had lost all confidence in Mrs. ----. James was acting haughty to the teacher on the third day; the teacher and James went to the principal and the three of them discussed the purpose of the experiment, etc. Things were smoothed out.

Jonathan's mother sent a thank-you note to the teacher saying she was glad he had been in the experiment.

Questionnaire B was administered to the experimental and the control classes; the rest of the class day was conducted normally.

TWO WEEKS LATER (FRIDAY, MAY 28, 1971)

(Questionnaire B was again administered to the experimental and control classes. Neither teacher knew it was to be administered until that morning; they were led to believe the experiment had been completed.)

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